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The resolution was put and declared lost. A poll was demanded and the House divided as follows :—

Ayes.

1 K. Uppi Sahib Bahadur.
2 K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim Sahib Bahadur.
3 Dr. Sir A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar.
4 Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu.
5 Sri M. D. T. Kumaraswami Mudaliyar.
6 Mrs. M. Hensman.
7 Mrs. M. N. Clubwalla.
8 Sri R. Suryanarayana Rao.
9 Mr. K. O. Anthoni.
10 Sir James Doak.
11 Dr. V. K. John.
12 Sri H. M. Jagannatham.

Noes.

1 The Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.
2 The Hon. Sri K. Madhava Menon.
3 Sri K. Venkataswami Nayudu.
4 „ B. Bheema Rao.
5 „ L. Subbarama Reddi.
6 „ S. K. Satagopa Mudaliar.
7 „ M. Narayana Menon.
8 „ M. Narayana Rao.
9 Sri N. Venkatachalamaji.
10 „ C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar.
11 „ A. Govindacharyulu.
12 „ A. K. A. Ramachandra Reddiyar.
13 „ S. Jayaram Reddiyar.
14 „ N. Renga Reddi.

Ayes 12 ; *Noes* 14.

The resolution was lost.

(3) REFERENCE OF GOVERNMENT BILLS TO JOINT SELECT COMMITTEES.

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Sri P. R. K. Sarma is not in his place. The hon. Member's resolution is deemed to have been withdrawn."

(4) REVISED SCALES OF SALARIES FOR NON-GAZETTED SERVICES IN THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Mr. K. O. Anthoni does not intend to move his resolution? "

MR. K. O. ANTHONI :—" Yes, Sir."

(5) DECISION OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT TO TRANSFER POWER TO INDIAN HANDS.

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Sir, I am thankful to you and the Members of the House for giving me this opportunity at this late hour, and I shall not take up more than five minutes. I move—

> '*This Council recommends to the Government to convey to the Secretary of State for India that this Council heartily welcomes the decision of His Majesty's Government in Britain to transfer power to Indian hands by a date not later than June* 1948.'

Sir, I consider it a privilege to move this resolution. As far as I know, no legislative chamber has considered this momentous declaration of His Majesty's Government. This House is considering it first. Three effective causes have contributed to this declaration. One is the sufferings undergone and the sacrifices made by the great political party, the Congress. They have not only sacrificed their comforts and conveniences; they have also sacrificed very much in property and even in life in the struggle for the freedom of the country under the leadership of the modern apostle of truth, non-violence and love—Mahatma Gandhi. The

[Dr. V. K. John]

second effective cause is that the other great political party in this country, whatever might have been its differences with the Hindus, has always stood for the freedom of this country. I mean the Muslim League. The third effective cause is the change that has come over the present generation. In introducing the Temple Entry Authorization Bill, the Leader of the House said that the present generation of Caste-Hindus were atoning for what they did in the past. Similarly, the present generation of Britishers are atoning for what was done in the past. The lead is given by the Labour Government that is in power to-day.

" I am sure that every effort will be made by the British Government that, when they quit, they will quit in such a manner that there will be peace in this land, and no civil war or bloodshed. If this is done, I have every hope that Indians will reconcile themselves to the Britisher and remain within the British Commonwealth of Nations under the Statute of Westminster which, in my opinion, confers on the units concerned all advantages without any disadvantage whatsoever. It may be that the British Commonwealth of Nations may change its name in due course and it may be called the Indian Commonweath of Nations, India being the major unit.

" A great responsibility rests upon every member of this House and the elected representatives of the people in other legislative chambers to see that the transfer of power from British to Indian hands will be peaceful, and that the differences between the various communities are solved in such a way that there will not be civil war or bloodshed, but peace and prosperity.

" We shall be witnessing the birth of a new India, a free India. I feel that all the troubles between the various communities and between the Congress and the States are like the pangs of pain before the birth of a free India. I am sure that responsible members of this House and others will see that the child is not born dead but that it is born alive. Even if there is more than one child—I wish there will be born only one child—I am sure the child will be brought up in health and vigour and it will lead the world when grown to manhood.

" I want to add a word to the members of the minority communities, and that is that communalism is fast dying out. As far as I can see, Hindu leaders have almost given up communalism. I put the question to every member of this House whether any of the Hon. Ministers now in power can be said to be communal-minded. Even Muslim leaders also are discarding communalism, and it is quite possible that the Muslim brethren will feel that they can trust the Hindu leaders and that there will be no reason for communal clashes both before the surrender of power to Indian hands and after.

" I commend this resolution for the acceptance of the House."

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SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—" I second the resolution. When I was a school boy I have heard of Lord Morley saying that to ask for the independence of India was to ask for the moon. That was at the beginning of this century. We are now in 1947. Whether we get the moon or not, there is the offer of the moon by the Secretary of State for India. Since the time Lord Morley made that statement, events have moved very rapidly. Even after the sacrifices made by Indians in the first European war, the British Government went only to the extent of saying that their goal in India was progressive realization of responsible Government as an integral part of the British Empire. That was in 1919. It was Lord Lloyd George's Government that made the declaration. Then we come to the year 1931, when it was the privilege of Mr. Ramsay McDonald to announce that India might attain Dominion Status—nothing more than that. Then we come to World War No. 2 in 1939 when the Atlantic Charter was formulated. Mr. Churchill was asked the question whether it applied to India. He said no. Mr. McDonald announced that Dominion Status was the goal of India with the consent of the Conservative Party. Now we have the Labour Government. The announcement was made ' Dominion Status if you wish ' or ' Independence if you wish '. Whatever you wish it is for you. Whatever a man wishes to be, he is. The present freedom movement is recognized by the Secretary of State. All that is history. But one thing I wish to place before the House. The declaration of the independence of India has been made by the British Parliament and by the Secretary of State. This announcement must receive the greatest appreciation from us, because the struggle for freedom movement in this country has not culminated in a revolutionary movement of wresting power from England but because of the sagacity and statesmanship of the British people to part with power when they know they cannot hold India. I do not know whether the credit is due to what my hon. Friend was saying. Whatever the reasons may be, the statesmanship of the British people has recognized the fact that they cannot any longer hold India by force. India can now be an independent country. The credit for the declaration—without causing any bloodshed must be on the British people. They have thrown the responsibility on us for maintaining the nation, for maintaining the freedom of the various communities inhabiting this part of the world. Sagacity and statesmanship must inspire the people of India also for creating a friendly spirit, for creating an amiable spirit to advance the freedom of India in an orderly manner so that we can deserve freedom."

6-30 p.m.

SIR JAMES DOAK :—" Mr. President, Sir, I most wholeheartedly support the resolution. It is probably too soon to expect any real appreciation of the past British record in India. I feel that political passions and conflicts have been so recent, that probably the next generation will be able to view things in their real perspective. When the time comes I think England's record in India will be found to be better than what most people think

of it to-day. I for one am very proud of England's record in this great country. In supporting the resolution may I express the hope that a political solution may be forthcoming in the very near future? Politics fill men's minds and have done so for far too long now. My great fear is that we may find independence come too late.

"Where is the industrialization we are all looking forward to? Where are the nation-building schemes which will quicken India's economic pulse? Planning for which we have been clamouring has been discarded because revenues have been thrown away needlessly in matters of Excise and Prohibition. Our greatest need is increased production in all spheres. Without that, we re-enter the vicious circle of increasing population, lower living standards, malnutrition and chronic unrest. May a spirit of compromise animate our leaders; may they rise to greater levels of toleration than have thus far been in evidence, so that a solution in the political field may be found and the urgent task of building a new and prosperous India get speedily under way."

* K. UPPI SAHIB BAHADUR :—" Sir, we Muslims are second to none, are second to nobody in our desire for freedom. We were struggling for the freedom of India with every one else in this country. We have been with the Congress fighting for the freedom of India shoulder to shoulder. But of late, have to separate ourselves from one another for reasons best known to all which I do not wish to deal with on the floor of this House.

"Regarding this resolution it is good that the Britisher has done his duty. But we have to make a long headway before the Britisher will be able to leave India peacefully. Now, as it stands, the Party to which we belong, the Muslim League Party has not come to any decision regarding the announcement of the British Government. So, as members of the Muslim League, we feel we are not in a position to completely endorse all the sentiments expressed in the resolution."

THE HON. SRI T. S. S. RAJAN :—" Sir, on behalf of the Government I accept this resolution moved and supported in this House. All of us are in agreement, who are the sons of the soil, who claim this country as ours and who hope to live in this land for ages to come. We cannot but express our feelings of joy and pleasure at the assurance given by the Secretary of State in his statement, in spite of our doubt whether it is necessary to express such sentiments we are actually feeling. In fact the statement of the Secretary of State is to-day the subject-matter of our discussion. While passing from one stage of political rehabilitation to another, we have tremendous difficulties of our own which we have to contend against. I foresee the future prospect of a strong and united India which will find not only a place with the rest of the nations of the world, but will be a place of record, merit and service. I had my own doubts whether I should accept this resolution on behalf of the Government, because it expresses the most patent fact which all of us acknowledge. I had my own

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doubts whether the passing of this resolution is at all necessary. But knowing my hon. Friend, Dr. John, as I do, I know be had no motives in moving this resolution, other than the highest of motives expressing the sense of appreciation of this House of the act done by those who are in power just now. The evidence of the truthfulness of the fact underlying the resolution is before our eyes now. One Viceroy has gone; another Viceroy has come. On behalf of the Secretary of State and of Englishmen, he has made more than one declaration with regard to their intentions. No Political Party can doubt those statements; nor can anybody fail to see the events that are following the statements. It is perfectly clear that the intentions of the British Government are being faithfully carried out. The present Viceroy has not in any way failed to carry out our expectations. All of us know that it is a very difficult task. Even so he has proved himself very successful in trying to transfer power from England to India. These few months of his stay here, have brought our freedom much nearer and we know that the day of our freedom is not far off. We know at the same time that tremendous responsibility rests with us. Perhaps real freedom will come to us only when we become, are found capable of and prove ourselves fit to undertake the task before us. In their generosity England may give away their responsibility. But in our strength alone lies our capacity to maintain the freedom that we get. It is a very complex problem that a nation of 300 or 400 millions comes into its own. When they come into their own, we understand the tremendous national re-actions that may take place. Whether we shall be able to tide over them, is a matter on which I do not wish to prophesy. I do feel that our nation which has survived and survived successfully has proved its capacity and it hopes to get through the remaining portion of the struggle successfully. Times are quite promising and let us not forget the good offices which people in power over us have been showing in this matter. This resolution expresses our national goodwill. In our national life this is a matter of very great importance. On behalf of the Government I feel justified in accepting this reslution and conveying it to suitable quarters."

THE HON. DR. P. SUBBARAYAN:—"Mr. President, Sir, I would not have intervened in this debate, but for some words which have fallen from the hon. Member who represents Europeans in this House. He talked of what Great Britain had done to this country. I am sure he realises that I owe a great deal to the English people and my education has been entirely under English hands. But at the same time I cannot forget the fact that whatever might have been Britain's work in this country, in spite of 150 years of British rule in India, illiteracy remains where it was, national advancement has not taken place as we would have liked; industrial planning of which the hon. Member talked of, still remains neglected. Take for instance Australia. She has gone forward during the war and I feel we too could have gone forward if only a helping hand had been given. In spite of the obstacles that have been put in our way, we were able to put 6-45 p.m.

in the field over 2 million men equipped and armed and I am glad to say that much of the small arms were also produced in this country. What is more? Our people both in Burma and on the deserts in Egypt proved themselves capable of not only defending their country, but also defending other peoples in trouble. The exploits of the Indian army in the deserts of North Africa will always remain as a bright chapter in this war. At one time it was thought that Indians were not capable of leading men in the field. I remember when the Simon Commission visited this country, one of the points I made before them was that we had men, we had educated men, we had men with brains, men capable of leading an army in the field, but then there was this shibboleth of martial and non-martial classes. I am glad, Sir, that during this war, the British Government have at last found their way to give a go-by to this shibboleth. Therefore, whatever my hon. Friend might think of England's past, still I feel that no colonial power can claim credit for anything that it has done to its colonials. But I can give this credit to the Englishmen that they are the least objectionable of the colonial powers. At the same time I cannot get away from the feeling that whatever might be the capacity of a colonial power, whatever might be its inherent strength, still there remains this blot. They are merely birds of passage in this land, and they are here not as trustees, which they have often claimed to be, but because it suits them to be here, because it pays them to be here, and because of power politics, which has been the bane of Europe, and it is this which has led to many wars. But Mahatma Gandhi has been able to make this greatest gift to the world, viz., that you can settle your troubles not by means of sword, but by means of soul force. And I am glad that to-day the struggles which India has put up for the last 25 years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi has begun to bear fruit, and what is more, this great man who has been born in this land and who can be compared only to Buddha, has been able to see in his own lifetime the fruits of his labours. I hope he will live to see India as a land of peace, because, I feel, as Dr. John has pointed out, there are these birth pangs of a free nation, that is about to be born. I hope, the child when born, will be strong and healthy and that the birth pangs would have resulted in producing a child which will take its place among the great nations of the world. I know that there is also a message which India has given to the world and that is the message of truth and non-violence. If only this message could pervade round the world, I am sure all the ills of the world can be solved and what is more, a settled and ordered civilization might emerge out of this chaos.

"I have great hopes of the United Nations Organization. But I know unless India is free—India, as a great nation, and is able to play her part in the deliberations of the United Nations, the power politics of the United Nations will make the United Nations Organization go the same way as the League of Nations has done. We know, people talk of collective security. It was a word used commonly in all meetings of the League of Nations in the

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olden days. But, what has become of collective security? Collective security really became security of individual nations, security of people who want still to continue their own colonial system. I hope at least now, this war has taught them a bitter lesson and I am sure, Great Britain has done a great thing in the announcement that she has made on February 20th and for which we are happy to-day. This announcement has been brought about, not merely by the generosity of Great Britain but because of the logical sequence of the international situation. I do feel that people have begun to realize that a great nation in Asia will be a bulwark of world-peace, and it is that feeling and that alone which has made the generosity of great Britain possible. I am not, of course, questioning her generosity, but what I wish to point out is that the international situation and the way in which the world is moving have made British people think that unless there is a free and great India, it is not possible to preserve the peace of the world. I hope that when matters have come to pass and India has gained her full freedom, she will prove herself worthy of the freedom and prove herself worthy of leading all Asiatic countries towards the haven of peace, happiness and prosperity."

SIR JAMES DOAK :—" Sir, I do not think I have said anything on this occasion to give rise to these remarks of the Hon. Minister. I am not a debator, but I don't think I ever attacked either this or that party and certainly I would not dream of attacking India and I also would not certainly dream of saying anything against the fine men who fought through the deserts in North Africa and in the jungles of Burma and in many other theatres of the war. I have nothing but admiration for them. Sir, as I said, I am not a debator, and I am at a loss to know what I have said, to give rise to, what I may call an outburst from the Hon. Minister. But I still maintain, Sir, that a generation afterwards, there will be something said of Great Britain of what I have referred to, namely, the growth of a moral conscience in England during the last 25 years and about what she had given to India. That is all I want to say, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" I now put the resolution to the vote of the House."

The resolution was put and carried.

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Sri S. Rm. Ramanathan Chettiyar and Sri Manjayya Hegde are not in their seats and therefore their resolutions are deemed to have been withdrawn. Does Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliyar wish to move his resolution? "

SRI C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR :—" I don't move my resolution now, Sir."

MR. PRESIDENT :—" Mrs. Clubwala will now move her resolution."